A MONGGHUL WOMAN'S (B. 1968) TRADITIONAL ADORNMENTS AND FAMILY

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ABSTRACT

Tayinsuu (b. 1968), a Mongghul (Monguor, Tu) mother of three from Jughuari (Zhuoke) Mongghul Village, Wushi Town, Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, Haidong City, Qinghai Province, PR China, was born with a cleft lip; attended a primary school in her natal Jughuari Village for five years; and herded cattle, donkeys, and horses on nearby mountains in her youth. Tayinsuu's mother (Zhinyahua, b. 1950) gave her traditional adornments to Tayinsuu as a dowry. This paper presents Tayinsuu's family narratives associated with these personal adornments and their cultural place in the Mongghul world. Tayinsuu's mother, who became a nun in ~1999, is also described. I interviewed Tayinsuu in Jughuari Village, Wushi Town, on 29 February 2020. Later, as I listened to the recorded interview, I took notes in Mongghul and wrote this text in English.

KEYWORDS

Asian women histories, Huzhu Tu County, Mongghul Buddhist nuns, Mongghul women ornaments, oral Tu history, Qinghai life narratives, Qinghai-Tibet Plateau, Tu history

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INTRODUCTION[1]

Mongghul [2] (Monguor, Tu) women's traditional personal adornments are the subject of this paper. Tayinsuu (b. 1968), a Tu (Mongghul, Monguor) mother from Jughuari (Zhuoke) Mongghul Village, Wushi Town, Huzhu Tu Autonomous County, Haidong City, Qinghai Province, PR China, was born with a cleft lip, attended a primary school in her natal Jughuari Village for five years, and herded cattle, donkeys, and horses on the mountains in her youth. Tayinsuu's mother (Zhinyahua, b. 1950) gave her traditional adornments to Tayinsuu as a dowry. Tayinsuu's narratives about these personal adornments and their cultural place in the Mongghul world are detailed. Zhinyahua, who became a nun in ~1999, is also described.

This paper is based on interviewing Tayinsuu in Jughuari Village on 29 February 2020 and photographs by my wife, Jugui. I took notes in Mongghul and wrote this text in English as I later listened to the recorded interview.

The paper provides photographs of Tayinsuu and Zhinyahua, followed by selected non-English terms for adornments and clothing, an overview of Tayinsuu's and Zhinyahua's lives, Tayinsuu's search for her mother in Hualong Hui Autonomous County (Haidong City, Qinghai Province), Zhinyahua's life in her home area, Tayinsuu's description of her necklace, and Tayinsuu's experiences with a cleft lip.

TERMS FOR WOMEN'S ADORNMENTS AND CLOTHING[3]

aiya, M (Mongolian) *giu, ogiu, oyuu* (pronounced *oyuu*); g.yu གཡུ, turquoise

chi, a protruding round dot on adornments

[1] I thank Kelsang Norbu (Gesang Norbu, Skal bzang nor bu) and Gengqiugelai (Konchok Gelek, Dkon mchog dge legs) for their assistance with this paper.

[2] Mongghul spellings follow Li (1988), Tibetan terms are given in Wylie and Tibetan script, and Chinese is provided in Pinyin and Chinese characters.

[3] M = Mongolian; Ch = Chinese; QC = Qinghai Chinese; T = Tibetan.

diudiuri, embroidered pocket-cover

giibii, three layers of cotton cloth glued together, creating a stable sewing base with new cotton cloth for the top layer and old cotton cloth for the bottom two layers

hgaija, traditional necklace; mgul rgyan མགུལ་རྒྱན། necklace

hindazi, QC *hanta* 汗褟 white shirt

manog, M *mana, manan, manughu* (pronounced *manuu*); Ch *manao* 瑪瑙, agate

mengu hgaija, sliver plates with coral, agate, turquoise, and porcelain or pearl beads; *mengu* = M *mönggü*/n (dialectally pronounced *menggu* or *munggu*) silver

saimiin, gold-silver mixture

shan, sran སྦྲན། otter fur

suuga, silver earrings for women, M *süike* or *süikü* (today pronounced *suix* or *siix*)

wajog, porcelain

xra wajog, yellow porcelain; *xra* = M *shira* 'yellow', Proto-Mongolic **sira* and Written M <*sira*>

xriga string of pearls or porcelain; M *erike/n* string of prayer beads, originally probably **xerike*

xuang koldii suuga, *xuang koldii suuga* = Ch *shuang* 雙 + M *köl-tei* 'with foot' + M *süike* (as above), double foot earrings

xuri, M *shürü*, also written *sirü;* byu ru ཇུ་རུ། coral

PHOTOGRAPHS OF TAYINSUU AND ZHINYAHUA

FIG 1. Tayinsuu wears her traditional necklace and earrings (29 February 2020, Jugui). The collar fur is otter. She also wears an embroidered pocket cover on her white shirt (27 April 2020, Jugui).

FIG 2. Zhinyahua (20 April 2020, Tayinsuu).

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PHOTOGRAPHS AND TAYINSUU'S ADORNMENTS

FIG 3. Tayinsuu's traditional neckwear (27 April 2020, Jugui). (1) coral, (2) turquoise, (3) agate, (4) gold-silver bead, (5) silver plate, (6) protruding round dots,[1] and (7) porcelain beads (rarely seen in the early 2020s).

FIG 4 (left). Tayinsuu's red coral beads (27 April 2020, Jugui). FIG 5 (right). Tayinsuu's yellow porcelain beads[2] (27 April 2020, Jugui).

[1] There are about sixty-two *chi*.

[2] A native of Gling rgyal Village suggested this might be *spos byu* 'amber coral' also known as *gser byu* 'golden coral'. A Xunhua Tibetan identified it as *spos she* 'amber'.

FIG 5. Tayinsuu's porcelain beads (27 April 2020, Jugui).

FIG 6. Tayinsuu's double foot earrings (27 April 2020, Jugui). One earring is composed of two coral beads and two silver spiral segments. Each earring has (1) two coral beads, (2) a turquoise bead, and (3) two agate beads. The remaining beads are porcelain.

FIGS 7 and 8. Tayinsuu's recently purchased earrings (27 April 2020, Jugui). The metal resembles silver, and the 'jewels' are plastic resembling turquoise and coral.

Mongghul women's adornments include silver earrings; traditional necklaces of coral, agate, turquoise, porcelain, silver, and gold fixed on a cloth base; strings of pearl or porcelain beads; and sliver plates embedded with coral, agate, turquoise, and porcelain and pearl beads.

Necklaces and earrings were only inherited by daughters who did not marry and leave their parents' home. For example, Tayinsuu stayed in her parents' home early in her life. The husband was obligated to provide a necklace if a woman married and moved into her husband's home.

Zhinyahua had three rectangular silver plates. She donated one on a silver necklace to the village *purghan*,[1] Tayinsuu has one affixed to a silver necklace (FIG 1), and Tayinsuu's mother kept one. A few beads fell out of Tayinsuu's silver plate over time. Tayinsuu ignored this since she rarely wears it.

TAYINSUU'S LIFE

After five years of study, I stopped attending my village primary school and herded livestock because my family could not afford my further education. I was and am very busy with family chores and farm work and forgot almost all the Chinese characters I learned. I have gradually relearned some Chinese characters in recent years through WeChat and can now identify bus stops and public toilets when I travel to a city and write my name in Chinese characters. WeChat profoundly

[1] The Huzhu Mongghul word purghan is a regular development of Mongolic *burkan* (bur*qan*) that basically means 'Buddha' and secondarily, any 'deity', 'god'. Etymologically, the Mongolic word is a borrowing from Ancient Uighur *burkan* (*burqan*), which is a compound of *bur* 'Buddha' and *kan* (*qan*) 'prince'. The first part, *bur*, is a borrowing from ancient Northwest Chinese *pur, from an earlier *put, which yields fo 佛 in modern Mandarin. In Huzhu Mongghul, as in regular Mongolian, the word is used both for the Buddha and of various other deities (Limusishiden et al. (2021:19).

Also see Limusishiden and Jugui (2010:23): The *purghan* is a deity in a sedan held by four men, or a cloth-covered pole held by one man. The *purghan* historically permeated Mongghul life and was available for consultation, representing the possibility that supplicants' distresses might be lessened. It was also consulted to identify a suitable spouse, treat disease, exorcise evil, ensure well-being and good harvests, and alleviate droughts.

impacts people's daily life and encourages people like me to learn more Chinese characters for texting.

My maternal grandmother, other people, and I camped in the mountains to graze twelve cattle, two donkeys, and one horse. My husband and I took turns grazing the animals after I married. Mother was *tulighui juuligha*[1] like me, so I never knew my father.

Mother's stepfather [Huaguarixja, ~1913~1993] was a Rgulang Monastery[2] monk. He had a younger brother who stayed at home when Huaguarixja was at the monastery, so I stayed in my home [not marrying and leaving] because. Huaguarixja was sent back to his village from Rgulang Monastery in 1958 and lived there until reassuming monkhood in 1978 at Rgulang Monastery. His younger brother accompanied him at this time.

Huaguarixja also led my younger brother (Rnqanzhaxi, b. 1971) to Rgulang to be a monk when he was eight. I had to stay home to care for Mother, so I did not marry or leave. My younger brother later became a layman and married.

My maternal grandmother's (Zhanggaga, 1914-1986) parents' home was in Jangja Village, Hongyazigou Township. Before she married and lived in my grandfather's home, she had a husband in Zanghgua Village, Wushi Town. Their relationship deteriorated. Grandmother left, married my grandfather, and gave birth to three children. My maternal uncle and his wife did not treat Grandfather well, so he told Mother she should stay home and care for my grandmother. Later, older villagers mediated, and Mother and her brother lived separately in one compound courtyard. Mother built a new courtyard compound there years later and lived with my grandmother until she died.

Grandmother and Mother were both tailors and learned written Tibetan.

I have been to Huangzhong and Hualong.[3] I've never left Qinghai Province.

Half a year after *I tulighui juugha* in 1986, I married an impoverished

[1] A ritual (*tulighui juuligha* 'head put-on') for women who remain in their parents' home, have lovers, and bear children who are unacknowledged by their fathers, bear their mother's family clan name, and are considered members of their mother's clan (Limusishiden and Jugui 2010:51).

[2] Rgulang (T, Dgon lung byams pa gling; Ch, Youningsi) is a Dge lugs Monastery located in Sitan Village, Wushi Town. Pu (2013:71-75) reports it had 396 monks in 1957, while Smith (2013) reports "over 300 monks" (291) and also "340 monks" (293).

[3] Huangzhong Region, Xining City and Hualong Hui Autonomous County, Haidong City are both located in Qinghai Province.

Tibetan (Danjanshang, 1964-1989) from Gantan Village, Wushi Town, through a matchmaker's introduction. His parents had died early, so he lived with two younger sisters and one younger brother. He moved into my home and brought his siblings because his family was too poor to support them. Danjanshang spoke Tibetan and understood Mongghul, but he didn't speak Mongghul when he was living in my home.

Danjanshang was a tall, handsome alcoholic who sometimes drank for three days and three nights at a stretch. He suffered from pulmonary tuberculosis and wiped the sweat from his forehead when he had a fever. He died six years after our marriage.

My second child (Durijidanzhu, b. 1985) was six the year he died, My first child (Durijizhunmaa, b. 1987) was four at that time, and I was pregnant with our third child (Durijizhankari b. 1989).

Danjanshang's two younger sisters and younger brother left to live in their former home in Gantan Village after Dananshang's death. They had grown up and could take care of themselves.

Jirasirang (b. 1963) from my village proposed marriage three years after Danjanshang's death. He is gentle and honest, and received a middle school education. He was too poor to find a wife easily. I told him I had three children and asked, "Would you like to raise them with me?"

He agreed, so I took my children to his home. I needed to care for them until they became adults.

My children didn't want to study after middle school further, so they became cattle herders. At that time, Mother studied Tibetan Buddhist scriptures in Hualong County and introduced my son, Durijidanzhu, to study Tibetan at Zhoka Naka, a Tibetan private school [Jianzha County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province]. I don't know where that school is exactly. Mother studied Tibetan and thought learning Tibetan would be helpful for Durijidanzhu. That's why he went there.

He graduated after three years and didn't find a job immediately, so he went to work in Ping'an Region, Haidong City, where he met a Tibetan from Langjia Village [Tongren County, Huangnan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture]. They fell in love and married, and my daughter-in-law moved into our home.

Durijizhunmaa married and moved into her husband's home in Shgeayili Village, Donggou Township, Huzhu County. Durijizhankari married a Chinese man and moved into his home in Gaozhai Town, Huzhu County.

MY MOTHER, ZHINYAHUA

She had stayed at her home as *tulighui juuligha* with her older brother, Rnsan (b. 1943), and her older sister, Duguasirang (~1946 - ~2019), before they became adults. Duguasirang married and moved into her husband's home in Qaaghuali Village, Dongshan Township. Mother built a new courtyard compound and moved there while her maternal uncle lived in the old family courtyard compound.

Mother's children are Rnqanzhaxi and me.

Mother is a devout Buddhist and studied Tibetan from a monk in Rdangyan Village, Wushi Town. She prostrates and recites Buddhist scriptures daily.

When Mother was forty-nine, she worshiped in Zhahgai Baizang [1] Monastery in Xinghai County [Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province]. She was interested in that place and decided to stay there and volunteered to sew clothing for the monastery's deity images. When an incarnate lama she met at the monastery suggested she become a nun, Mother thought, "I have no husband, and my children are adults. Life is like that. I understand the meaninglessness of the material world."

This is how she became a nun, donned a nun's robe that she continues to wear today, rented a room, and lived with another nun.

One day, the monastery gave an emergency phone call, telling us to come as soon as possible, which is how we learned Mother's whereabouts. My brother and husband went there by tractor and found her wearing a nun's robe. She was not as ill as the emergency call had suggested.

Rnqanzhaxi scolded, "You look normal. You're not sick at all! You became a nun without telling your children! Why did you phone us?! Living here, you're far from us. No one will care for you in case of a real emergency."

Mother finally agreed to come home.

Rgulang Monastery is for monks. There is no nunnery in the Mongghul areas. Mother had no place to live and practice the dharma in our home area, so she stayed at my home for a couple of days before moving to my brother's home. She stayed for almost a year in our village.

Conflict eventually came. One day, my brother's wife scolded Mother,

[1] Located eighteen kilometers west of Sangdang Township, Xinghai County, Hainan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Qinghai Province. Saizong (Brag dkar sprel rdzong) Monastery. Founded in 1923, it had 377 monks and one reincarnate *bla ma* in 1981 (Nian and Bai 1993:206-207).

"You stay in the village wearing your cassock. You should stay in a nunnery! "

Mother angrily left for Xiaqiong Monastery[1] [Hualong County], where she found a monk to be her master and give her dharma teachings. She also sewed clothing for the monastery deity images.

Some months later, she went to sky burial grounds atop a mountain to meditate at her master's suggestion. She sat, meditating, unafraid of wolves, snakes, ghosts, and evils because she had successively lived in tents and caves beside 108 sky burial sites [where corpses are exposed to vultures] for three years in Hualong, Xunhua,[2] Huangzhong, Jianzha, Tongren, and Xiahe[3] counties. Corpses are often chopped and fed to vultures at sky burial grounds, where there are many ghosts of dead people. She would pitch a tent on top of a mountain by a sky burial, sit in meditation, and recite Buddhist scriptures. Some days later, she would move to another mountain top. She continued this until she had stayed by 108 sky burials.

Chanting creates a smooth road for the deceased on their way to Hell. Locals believe chanting scriptures on top of mountains near sky burial locations with many ghosts and evils from countless corpses strengthened her spiritual power, helped her move her tent, and offered her food and water. Vultures did not fear her because she gave them her leftovers and occasionally chopped corpses into smaller pieces to encourage vultures to eat them.

Mother fears nothing after such experiences and likes living alone, particularly in remote areas. Her difficulties and memorable experiences include:

> Mother sat cross-legged on the ground in front of her small tent one dark night as stars twinkled in the vast night sky. A big wolf suddenly appeared on an opposite ridge, stared at her, and howled in the night air. Another wolf appeared. Soon, a third wolf approached her right. The three wolves stared at her. Mother ignored them and continued reciting mantras. Seeing Mother did not move, the wolves surrounded her and jumped over her head one after another. Mother sat still without showing fear and anxiety. She continued chanting and not moving.
>
> The wolves then lay on the ground and watched Mother.

[1] Located thirty-five kilometers west of Hualong County Town and ten kilometers south of today's Chapu Tibetan Township. In 1993, the monastery had 350 monks and four reincarnate lamas (Nian and Bai 1993:51-53).

[2] Xunhua Salar (Sala) Autonomous County, Haidong City.

[3] Gannan Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture, Gansu Province.

Suddenly one wolf rushed to Mother and knocked her over. Mother continued chanting, waiting for the wolves to eat her. She was ready to devote her body to those hungry wolves. However, the wolves continued lying on the ground staring at Mother until dawn, when they stood and slowly left.

One hot summer afternoon, Mother sat meditating and reciting scripture in a cave near a sky burial site when two big snakes slithered to the entrance of her cave, seemingly listening to her chanting. An hour later, they slithered away.

After learning Tibetan Buddhist mantras at sky burial sites for three years, Mother returned to Xiaqiong Monastery, lived in an abandoned quarter, and sewed clothes and adornments for the monastery's deity images. She learned Buddhism from her monk teacher in the monastery and rarely contacted outsiders. She sewed during the day and fetched water from the foot of the mountain for herself at night.

I had no news at all about Mother after she left our village. I thought she must have died.

MY SEARCH FOR MOTHER IN HUALONG COUNTY

One day, a man from Smee Village, Wushi Town, returned from worshiping at Xiaqiong Monastery with an oral message from Mother, who had asked him to tell me she was there. I was busy helping build a courtyard compound wall for a village family. I was so excited to receive this news that I immediately left for Hualong to find Mother without informing my family.

I first reached Ping'an Town. With no idea where Xiaqong Monastery was, I asked locals, who told me how to reach Xiaqiong Monastery, so I boarded a bus. The driver let me off when we reached Chapu Township. Taking a minibus, I finally reached the monastery at dusk.

A narrow, steep road leads to the monastery atop a mountain. The monastery is large, but few people were there at dusk. I asked a few monks if they had seen a Mongghul nun. No one had because Mother didn't leave her room during the day. Finally, a monk pointed to a temple and said, "Go there. A nun is there."

I walked into the temple and heard a sewing machine clicking. I walked toward the sound and saw a woman busily sewing in a temple corner. She was

alone. I began sobbing without seeing her face clearly, though crying is prohibited in Tibetan monasteries. Mother was shocked, slowly stood, and burst out crying.

Though she had adapted to her nun life, I didn't want Mother to live alone, far from our homeland. I persuaded her to return. She finally agreed, but we first finished her uncompleted sewing work.

After staying some days in my brother's and my homes, she wanted to leave because villagers, relatives, and others gossiped about her wearing a cassock and her nun identity. According to Mongghul custom, nuns and monks should live in a monastery or a nunnery, not stay in their village home. Confused about where she should live, she regretted leaving Hualong County.

She then went on a month-long retreat in a cave near Ruachuari Monastery and then returned to Xiaqiong Monastery and continued her sewing work.

Two years later, she left Xiaqiong and went to Rgulang Monastery, where she rented a house in Gumang Village (near Rgulang Monastery) and studied scriptures for five years.

MOTHER'S LIFE IN OUR HOMETOWN

In 2017, relatives from Maqang Village, Wushi Town, replaced their old wooden living quarters with a new two-story concrete building. The old wooden rooms were considered outdated and could not be sold for a high price. Two-story concrete buildings were preferred after 2010, so these relatives gave Mother wood from four wooden rooms for free. We then built four rooms in Zhalang near Rgulang Monastery, where I used to camp and herd cattle, sheep, and horses when I was younger. It takes more than an hour from the nearest road to walk along a narrow winding trail inaccessible to vehicles to Mother's place.

There are three or four young Mongghul nuns at a nunnery subordinate to Labrang Monastery in Xiahe [Gannan], but there were no old nuns like Mother in 2020 in the Mongghul areas. Mother thus became a respected senior nun in the Mongghul area.

MY NECKLACE

Mother gave me some of her old adornments as a dowry on the night of my tulighui juuligha ritual. She put the necklace around my neck, helped me put on her old earrings, and said, "You will stay home with us. These adornments now belong to

you."

I later wore them during festivals, weddings, and other cultural events. They were too heavy to wear when I did fieldwork. They made my neck and ears uncomfortable, particularly when I was sweating.

Necklaces and earrings are Mongghul women's most valuable possessions. Some components of this necklace have been passed down through my maternal lineage for generations. Still, most were accumulated through shop purchases and work done by local silversmiths.

I wore this heavy necklace for two years after Mother gave it to me and then replaced it with a modern light one and small adornments I bought from a shop in Weiyuan. Since then, I have rarely worn the old heavy necklace except during important events such as love song meetings, weddings, and large religious rituals. I replaced my large, heavy silver earrings with small light ones. The old heavy ones enlarged my earlobe piercings, pulled my earlobes down, and caused pain. I bought several necklaces and earrings from shops in the following years.

I have worn various necklaces. If a woman doesn't wear adornments, her husband will suffer from diseases like facial paralysis and strokes, which is one reason I wear adornments.

My traditional adornments are precious to me, and I have carefully kept them. I will always cherish them as gifts from Mother. Such adornments are very precious to Mongghul and Tibetan women. Such precious adornments as these traditional items will not be made in the future. They should eventually have been given to my younger brother's wife. However, they finally came to me because I stayed home as tulighui juuligha. My sagging big earlobe holes indicate how often I wear them.

I will give these adornments to my daughter-in-law if she wants to wear them. If not, they will be stored at home as a treasure. Once I received these adornments from Mother, I never lent them to anyone. They will belong to my son and daughter-in-law and be passed on to my grandchildren and great-grandchildren in time.

My daughter-in-law prefers modern gold jewelry. Today, no one is interested in this old, heavy necklace and earrings that are not modern and fashionable. Old heavy adornments are considered too tight around the neck, even making breathing difficult. I feel my neck has become shorter since I didn't wear this necklace for more than ten years.

In the past, people often wore long robes, silver earrings, and necklaces on every occasion – special or not. Mongghul women enjoy showing off their

expensive adornments. Today, people would say these adornments are outdated and not worth wearing.

Poor people wore yellow porcelain bead necklaces, protecting their necks from the wind.

MY CLEFT LIP

There was a bumper potato harvest during the production team time in my village in 1967. I was born a year after a production team dug a couple of cellars behind my ancestral graveyard, where harvested potatoes were stored.[1]

A cleft lip was unknown among my direct ancestors. My maternal uncle's wife, Qijangkari (1948-2009), was a pretty but wicked Mongghul woman. She was frightened when she first saw me and whooped, "Our Zhinyahua has given birth to a monster!"

She wrapped me in a sleeveless short woolen gown and put me in the corner of a bed to starve.

My family and others in our village had never seen a baby with a cleft lip. They were curious and amazed. Three days after being discarded, Mother checked and found frost [from my breath] on the woolen clothes near my mouth that signaled I was still alive. She took me in her arms and nursed me as is a mother's duty.

In 1971, medical treatment for a cleft lip was unavailable. The gap in my lip widened as I grew older. Mother worried and took me to a village clinic where the village doctor sewed the two parts of the cleft lip without anesthesia and without cutting normal soft tissue on both sides. I cried and struggled in great pain. The wound was soon swollen and painful, and eating was difficult. I cried from the swelling and pain. Eventually, a suture broke, and part of the wound reopened. My family never took me to a hospital.

After I married, my husband said worriedly, "You will soon give birth. What shall we do if the baby has a cleft lip like you?"

I'm a happy person, and I like to laugh. My former husband said, "Please don't laugh. What shall we do if your cleft lip splits again?"

I replied, "What's wrong with me? I know you're handsome, and I'm ugly, but I can take good care of your home, give birth, take care of the children, and do farm work. What is my shortcoming? If you think I'm incompetent, please find

[1] Mongghul believe children may be adversely affected by what happens to a family's ancestral graves.

another pretty wife!"

CONCLUSION

After 2000, people preferred modern gold necklaces. Few wear traditional jewelry of coral, turquoise, agate, and silver plates in the Mongghul areas. When a bride is about to marry, the groom is expected to provide a gold necklace, a pair of gold earrings, and a gold bracelet. The new couple, with representatives of both the groom and bride, visit gold shops in Weiyuan Town or Xining City and buy gold necklaces. More and more antique dealers collect old jewelry from Mongghul villages. Many women sell their traditional jewelry to dealers at a low price because they believe Mongghul jewelry is old-fashioned and outdated.

Tayinsuu has carefully kept her jewelry. This is unusual among Mongghul women. In 2020, when I interviewed her in her home, Tayinsuu wore a simple string of old coral, turquoise, agate, and porcelain beads around her neck.

Why does she keep her traditional adornments and wear a simple, traditional necklace? Here is her answer:

I wear this simple traditional necklace because I'm getting old and don't have much time left in this world. Wearing these traditional beads means I don't forget our traditional customs. Wearing it also looks nice.

We shouldn't forget our Mongghul Khan's[1] customs. That's the reason I wear it. Wearing it protects me from wind and prevents facial paralysis and serious diseases such as cerebral hemorrhage and cerebral infarction. Furthermore, wearing a necklace protects my neck from exposure. I'm very traditional and feel shy about exposing my neck.

[1] "Mongghul Khan" appears in a song (see Limusishiden et al. 2021:15) known to a decreasing number of Huzhu Mongghul in 2022.

PHOTOGRAPHS

FIG 10. Zhinyahua's rooms under construction on Zhalang Mountain (20 April 2020, Tayinsuu).

FIG 11. Zhinyahua's rooms under construction on Zhalang Mountain (20 April 2020, Tayinsuu).

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NON-ENGLISH TERMS

Chapu 查甫, tsha phug ཚ་ཕུག Township
chi, a protruding round dot on adornments
Danjanshang, bstan rgyal hrang བསྟན་རྒྱལ་ཧྲང་། a person's name
diudiuri, embroidered pocket-cover
Dkon mchog dge legs དཀོན་མཆོག་དགེ་ལེགས།
Donggou 东沟 Township
Dongshan 东山 Township
Duguasirang, sgrol dkar tshe ring སྒྲོལ་དཀར་ཚེ་རིང་། a person's name
Durijidanzhu, rdo rje don grub རྡོ་རྗེ་དོན་གྲུབ། a person's name
Durijizhankari, rdo rje sgron dkar རྡོ་རྗེ་སྒྲོན་དཀར། a person's name
Durijizhunmaa, rdo rje sgrol ma རྡོ་རྗེ་སྒྲོལ་མ། a person's name
Gannan 甘南, kan lho ཀན་ལྷོ Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Gansu 甘肃 Province
Gantan 甘滩 Village
Gaozhai 高寨 Town
giibii, three layers of cotton cloth glued together, creating a stable sewing base with new cotton cloth for the top layer and old cotton cloth for the bottom two layers
gser byu གསེར་ཇུ, golden coral, amber
Gumang, Guomang 郭莽, go mang སྒོ་མང་། Village
Haibei 海北, mtsho byang མཚོ་བྱང་། Prefecture
Haidong 海东 City
Hainan 海南, mtsho lho མཚོ་ལྷོ Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Han 汉, an ethnic group in China
hgaija, traditional necklace; mgul rgyan མགུལ་རྒྱན། necklace
hindazi, QC, *hanta* 汗褡 white shirt
Hongyazigou 红崖子沟 Township
Huaguarixja, dpal mkhar rgyal དཔལ་མཁར་རྒྱལ། a person's name

Hualong 化隆 Hui 回 Autonomous County
Huangnan 黄南 rma lho རྨ་ལྷོ Tibetan Autonomous Prefecture
Huangzhong 湟中 sku 'bum སྐུ་འབུམ County
Hui 回, an Islamic ethnic group in China
Huzhu 互助 Mongghul (Tu 土) Autonomous County
Jangja, Zhangjia 张家 Village
Jianzha 尖扎, gcan tsha གཅན་ཚ County
Jiase 嘉色; rgyal sras རྒྱལ་སྲས reincarnate *bla ma*
Jughuari, Zhuoke 桌科 Village
Labrang, Labuleng 拉卜楞, bla brang ཟླ་ཁང Village
Langjia 浪加, gling rgyal གླིང་རྒྱལ Village
Limusishiden, Li Dechun 李得春, klu 'bum tshe brtan
klu 'bum tshe brtan ཀླུ་འབུམ་ཚེ་བརྟན a person's name
manog, *manog* M *mana, manan, manughu* (pronounced *manuu*); Ch *manao* 瑪瑙, agate
Maqang, Majuan 马圈 Village
mengu hgaija, sliver plates with coral, agate, turquoise, and porcelain or pearl beads; *mengu* = M *mönggü*/n (dialectally pronounced *menggu* or *munggu*) silver
Ming 明 Dynasty
Mongghul, Monguor, Mangghuer, Tu 土
Ping'an 平安 Region
Pinyin 拼音
purghan, a deity represented in a sedan or a cloth-covered pole held by four men or a single man, respectively
Qaaghuali, Chaergou 岔儿沟 Village
Qijangkari, chos skyong mkhar ཆོས་སྐྱོང་མཁར a person's name
Qinghai 青海, mtsho sngon མཚོ་སྨོན Province
Rdangyan, Dongyuan 东元 Village
Rgulang, dgon lung byams pa gling དགོན་ལུང་བྱམས་པ་གླིང; Youningsi 佑宁寺, a monastery's name
Rnqanzhaxi, rin chen bkra shis རིན་ཆེན་བཀྲ་ཤིས a person's name
Rnsan, a person's name
Ruachuari, rgyal sras ri khrod རྒྱལ་སྲས་རི་ཁྲོད C, Tianmensi 天门寺
saimiin, gold-silver mixture
Salar, Sala 撒拉, an ethnic group in China
Sangdang 桑当 Township

shan, sran སྦྲན། otter fur
Shgeayili, Dazhuang 大庄 Village
Sitan 寺滩 Village
skal bzang nor bu སྐལ་བཟང་ནོར་བུ།
Smee, Ximi 西米 Village
spos byu སྤོས་ཞུ amber coral
spos she སྤོས་ཤེལ amber
suuga, silver earrings for women, M *süike* or *süikü* (today pronounced *suix* or *siix*)
Tayinsuu, a person's name
Tongren 同仁 County
tulighui juuligha, a ritual for a woman who remains in her parents' home, has lovers, and bears children
wajog, porcelain
Wanli 万历
Weiyuan 威远 Town
Wushi 五十 Town
Xiahe 夏河, bsang chu བསང་ཆུ། County
Xiaqiong 夏琼 bya khyung ཅྱ་ཁྱུང་། Monastery
Xinghai 兴海, brag dkar ཟག་དཀར། County
Xining 西宁, zi ling ཟི་ལིང་།
xra wajog, yellow porcelain; *xra wajog*, yellow porcelain; *xra* = Mongolian *shira* 'yellow', Proto-Mongolic **sira* and Written Mongol <*sira*>
xriga string of pearls or porcelain; M *erike/n* string of prayer beads, originally probably **xerike*
xuang koldii suuga, *xuang koldii suuga* = Ch shuang 雙 + M költei 'with foot' + M süike (as above), double foot earrings
Xunhua 循化 Salar (Sala 撒拉) County
xuri, M *shürü*, also written *sirü;* byu ru ཞུ་རུ། coral
Zanghgua, Sangshige 桑士哥 Village
Zhahgai Baizang (Saizongsi 赛宗寺), brag dkar sprel rdzong ཟག་དཀར་སྤྲེལ་རྫོང་། Monastery
Zhalang, a place name
Zhanggaga, a person's name
Zhinyahua, a person's name
Zhoka Naka, brag gi sna kha ཟོག་གི་སྣ་ཁ། a place name